

CHAPTER ONE

INTERNATIONAL SECURITY STUDIES AND THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF ANALYSIS

The concepts, structure and international security's level of analysis

The ideas, questions, issues, and problems that we study in international security structure are increasingly important. It is hard to make sense of a government policy without an understanding of the theories, concepts, and relationship found in international security structure. It is difficult to understand our everyday lives without appreciating the importance of international security; this security greatly influences our lives. The concept of security either at the system level or unit level is based on the neo-realist perspective, chiefly as the international system is state-centric; power, and national interest are dominant factors in relations among the actors, and that the international system is basically anarchic in structure. The structure of anarchic international system means that no state can have absolute security for itself without at the same time threatening the security of others. However, security of the states is interdependent within the International system of anarchy. National security therefore has to be studied within the milieu of threats to the state and vulnerabilities of the state.⁷ However, we will focus on for further details on the two major schools of international security analysis.

Priscilla Mcgeehan, 2001, and Conway W. Henderson, *International Relations, Conflict and Cooperation at the Turn of the 21st Century*, Singapore: McGraw-Hill, 1998

⁷ Singh, Ranjit "International Security Framework of Analysis", (Topic 1, The Concept of International Security) He presented to the seminar classes (MA students for Defense and Strategic Studies) at the University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, 2001)

1.1 The major schools of International Security Analysis

There is no single theory that profoundly explains the wide range of international interactions, both conflict and cooperation. But there are two major schools, realist and transnational (also known as international liberals, neo-liberals, and globalists). Both have their own theoretical frameworks that have traditionally held a central position in the study of international relations.

Realist School of Thought

Realism (or political realism) is a school of thought and it developed in reaction to liberal traditional that realist called idealism. (Of course, idealist themselves do not consider their approach unrealistic). Realist has been the dominant tradition thinking about international politics. For the realist, the central problem of international politics is war and the use of force, and central actors are states. Among modern Americans, realism is exemplified by the writing and policies of President Richard Nixon and his secretary of state, Henry Kissinger. The realist starts from the assumption of the anarchic system of states. Kissinger and Nixon, for example, sought to maximize the power of the United States and minimize the ability of other states to jeopardize U.S. security. According to the realist, the beginning and end of the international politics is the individual state and in interaction with others states.⁸ Professors James E. Dougherty and Robert L. Pfaltzgaft, after carefully reviewing a number of theoretical proposals, have said, "Despite its critics, realism ranks as the most important attempt thus far to isolate and to focus on a key variable in political

⁸ Joseph S. Nye, Jr., Understanding International Conflict: An Introduction to the Theory and History, 2nd Ed. New York: An Imprint of Addison Wesley Longman, Inc., 1997, p.4

behavior – namely power- and to develop a theory of international relations.”⁹ Although realism is traceable back to Thucydides in the fourth century B.C., to Machiavelli in the early sixteen-century, and to Hobbes Thomas in the seventeenth century, it is Hans Morgenthau whom American political scientists regard as the “father of realism”. Professor Morgenthau had a tremendous impact on international relations with his classic *Politics Among Nations*, published in 1948.

A realist starts with the assumption that international relations take place within anarchy in which sovereign, independent states interact with one another in a competitive and conflictual world unregulated by a central authority. For Morgenthau, politics is a struggle for power that states seek to maximize. States rationally seek to protect their national interests, the conflict interest being national security in a war-prone world. When states do cooperate in the conflict-prone world, they do so to form alliances as a way to dissuade one or more other states from attacking. As other states form a counter alliance, a balance of power may form and result in a period of temporary peace, according to realists. As a conflict- oriented approach, realism has serious trouble accounting for peaceful change and cooperation, although Morgenthau did put some hope in the use of diplomacy for avoiding war. Another development, neorealist (also known as structural realists), in 1979, Professor Kenneth N. Waltz, made significant adjustments to realism; He expressed his view through his 1979 book *Theory of International Politics*. Waltz sees world structure as the principal determinant of outcome at the international level. This structure is based on the configuration of

⁹ Conway W. Henderson, International Relations: Conflict and Cooperation the Turn of the 21st Century, Singapore: McGraw-Hill, 1998, P.14

power distributed among the major states. In this structure, waltz said, states can still make rational choice about their interests within a framework of incentives and constraints imposed by the world power structure.¹⁰ However, when cooperation does occur, according to the neorealist power relationships are at work within the cooperative arrangement. The more powerful states take larger shares of any joint gain that flows from the cooperation. In addition, the realist scholars have their major issues as the below table shows.¹¹

Table1. Issues and Realism

Issues	Assumptions
Human Nature	Selfish
Most Important Actor	States
Causes of State Behavior	Rational Pursuit of self-interest
Nature of International System	Anarchy

As we have seen realists focus more on the human nature to modify the idea of anarchy into the idea of anarchical society and that is why they tend to treat political power as separate and predominant over, morality, ideology and other social and economic aspects of life. For realists, ideologies do not matter much, nor do religious or other cultural factors with which states may explain their actions. Realist sees state with very different religions or ideologies or economic system as quite similar in their actions with regard to national power.¹² This perspective is associated with the realist paradigm, which sees world politics in terms of **State- Centric** engaged in an endless competitive existence

¹⁰ibid., p 15

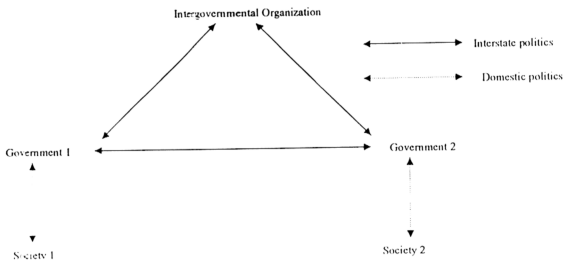
¹¹ Joshua S. Goldstein, International Relations, (4th Ed) New York: Longman,2001, p.59

¹² Ibid , p. 59

to preserve their security and well being. However, in this view states are impermeable self-contained unit, which can influence each other by external pressure. The contact was restricted to external dimension by concept of sovereignty. So, state- centrism was modified the idea of ANARCHY toward the idea of anarchical society¹³. However, what the realist means the state-centric model?

State-Centric: International Relations Model

Throughout the history, political scientists, and international relations specialists have developed various models of world politics. For the realist, in the past four decades their thinkers would probably have compared world politics to a game of Billiards with each ball on the table is representing a nation-state. Such a representation would have fairly accurately represented the realities of international relations because states dominated the system. Thus, the following diagram represents the **state-centric model** of world politics:¹⁴



In this approach, international politics follows the regular lines, that means, if

¹³ Graham Evans and Jeffrey Newham, *The Dictionary of World Politics: A Reference Guide to Concepts Ideas and Institutions*, New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1992, p.306

¹⁴ Dan Caldwell, *World Politics and You*, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 2000, p.60

the people in society 1 want to put pressure on government 2, they ask government 1, to talk to government 2, because if the society 1 wants to put pressure on government 2, their government will consider that act as a kind of interference in internal affairs of the other state. In short, state remains the most important actor in international politics. On the other hand, transnationalist rejected the realist's approach and said reality, no picture of world politics is complete if the complex pattern of interaction between transnational actors and governmental actors is ignored or treated as peripheral to the interactions of states and international organizations. However, we will go into further analysis what the transnationalist suggested as to be a model for international relations.

Transnationalist school of thought

In the 1970s the transnationalists challenged the realists during the rising economic and social interdependence. These aspects were changing the nature of international politics. It was becoming evident that neither realism nor neo-realism could adequately explain the rapid changes in the international system. The study of transnational relations is relatively new, some of the terminology applied to this area is little understood and sometimes lacks precision to guide the student in distinguishing between interstate and transnational relations, and a few definitions are vividly explained. However, the definition adopted in this paper based on the term used (summer issue 25, 1971, of International Organizations), edited by Keohane and Nye. According to them, a transnational interaction is: *"the movement of tangible or intangible items across state*

boundaries when at least one actor is not an agent of government or intergovernmental organization".¹⁵

Instances of that reality are on the decline in international warfare, the shift to economic sources of power for influence over military means for coercion, and intensified efforts to integrate global trade patterns through international cooperative ventures.¹⁶ Also according to Henderson the major work that stimulated a new focus on the developments that realist could not explain was the 1972 publication of *Transnational Relations and World Politics*, edited by Robert O. Keohane and Joseph Nye. Almost as important is their 1977 publishing of *Power and Interdependence: World Politics in Transition*. These transnationalists (also known as international liberals, neo-liberals, and globalists) largely focus on interdependence. This concept-transnational relations – refers to mutual dependence among two or more actors, although the actors involved may not share dependence evenly. One or more actors may enjoy advantages, even if they should coordinate plans and actions.¹⁷ Transnationalist argues that there is a change according in the nature of international politics. Transnationalist looks even further to the future and believes that dramatic growths in ecological interdependence will so blur the differences between the domestic and international politics and world will evolve into a borderless community. For example, everyone will be affected without regard to boundaries of the depletion of ozone in the upper atmosphere causes skin cancer. And they suggested the following approach for international relations model in the future.

¹⁴ Dan Caldwell, *World Politics and You*, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 2000, p. 60

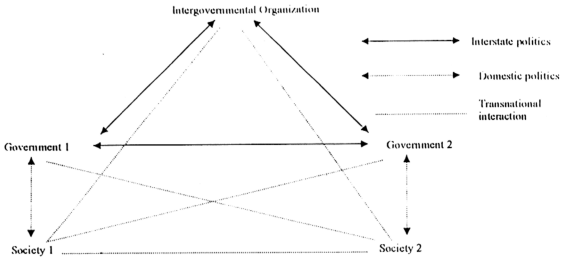
¹⁵ Leroy A. Bennett, *International Organizations: Principle and Issues*, (6th Ed), New Jersey: Prentice-Hall International, Inc., 1997, p. 266

¹⁶ Henderson, P. 16

Trausnationalist International Relations Model

Transnationalists reject the realist **"state-centric model"** which compared world politics to a game of billiards with the balls on the table representing nation-states. According to them, there are several problems with this **"billiard ball model"** of world politics. For example, all of the balls on a billiard table are the same size, yet in the contemporary world; states vary in size from China, with 1, 2000,000,000 people, to countries with only a few tens of thousands of citizens. Secondly, what about other actors in international relations such as terrorist groups, multinational corporations, churches, fundamentalist groups, and non-governmental organizations? If the billiard ball model were accurate or correct, then there would have to be many different representations of non-state actors on the table. As it were, we cannot imagine world politics without non-states existing. Non-state actors have existed for a long time but they have become more prominent in the recent decades because of advances in communication and transportation. These advances enable sub-national groups to communicate with sub-national groups in other states. Therefore, two highly respected American political scientists, Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye, portrayed contemporary international relations as occurring according to the following diagram.¹⁸

¹⁸ Caldwell., p.62



This diagram depicts classic interstate politics, domestic, and transnational relations. It shows government-to-government, interstate relations, which is traditional focus of international-relations scholars. As when we read a contemporary newspaper, it shows there are a number of ties between domestic societies, and these societies also have ties to other governments and even to international organizations. Thus, while this diagram is more complex than State-centric model diagram, it more accurately reflects the realities of contemporary world politics. The two major schools of international security studies adopted two forms of world politics. State-centric model follows the regular solid lines. If people in society 1 want to put pressure on government 2, they ask government 1 to talk to government 2. But in Transnationalist model, people in society 1 will put pressure on government 2 directly, or people in society 1 may put pressure on people in society 2 directly. The dotted lines in the transnationalist diagram are individual actors going across national boundaries.¹⁹ Furthermore, real debate

¹⁹ Joseph , p.177

turns, around on the military and economic issues asking what issues were considered to be the realm of “high politic and low politics?” Transnationalist argue that the debate is over. Before the 1973-1974, that politics and military issues were considered to be in the realm of “high politics” and economic issues were considered to be “low politics”. Transnationalist Reverse Realist’s key assumptions and asked them: What would the world look like if the three key assumptions of realism were reversed?

Realist	Transnationalist
States are the only significant actors	States are not the only significant actors Transnationalist forces are also important
Military forces is the dominant instrument	Force is not the only significant instrument. Economic manipulation and international institutions are also important instruments
Security is the dominant goal	Security is not the dominant goal, social welfare is the dominant goal

However, today economic issues affect virtually every person living in the world whether he is Nairobi, Moscow, or Beijing. And that trend is likely to continue.²⁰ However, both international security scholars could not provide the answer of these major questions such as what are the major economic problems in the world today? What are the trends towards greater economic integration?

²⁰ Caldwell., p.234

1.2 The end of the Westphalia System and New forms of World Politics

American political scientist, Professor Joseph S. Nye (1997) has made a detailed analysis of this phenomenon and said: "we can label this antirealist world *complex interdependence*". Social scientists call complex interdependence the "ideal type". It is an imaginary concept that does not exist in the real world, but neither do realist or transnationalist approaches perfectly fit the real world. The concept complex interdependence is a thought experiment that allows us to imagine different types of world politics.²¹ However, at the beginning of that complexity, we can imagine or undoubtedly identify many different individuals, organizations, and countries involved in world politics. These are called "actors" of international relations. Not so long ago, states were considered to be the only actors on the stage of world politics. But, today, in addition to the world's 194 states, there are many different **non-state actors**. Nonstate actors will be described as individuals, groups, and international system actors. Individuals can and do make a difference in world politics. Of course, the difference that they make can be good or bad, large or small. For example, think of the individuals who are behind the 11th September tragedy on the World Trade Center and Pentagon in United States of America. Who are they? Why do they make an unbelievable devastation? The impact of that tragedy will be costly and will change the analysis of world politics in the near future. Dan Caldwell described a number of different actors in the world politics including terrorist groups. He said, in recent years another type of individual has had a significant impact on world politics: examples of such are Abu Nidal and Ossama Bin Ladden who have become commonly known because of their sponsorship and involvement in

²¹Joseph , p.170

terrorism.²² He added also, at the international level of analysis, there are a number of different actors. Six types may be very important. (1) Intergovernmental organizations, (2) regional organizations, (3) non-governmental organizations, (4) multinational cooperations, (5) the news media, and finally terrorist groups. Professor Richard Falk argues that these transnational problems and values will produce new non-territorial loyalties, which will change the state system that has been dominant for the last 400 years. Transnational forces are undoing the peace of Westphalia, and humanity is evolving towards a new form of international politics. Take for another example, the multinational co-operations and their impact on international economy. By mid 1990s there were more than 38,000 MNCs with more than 25,000 foreign subsidiaries. They generated more than US\$ 5.2 trillion in global sales, about one fifth of the world's total economy of 25 trillion. The economy of individual MNCs is clear when we examine in the table given below which compares (on five) states out of 194 and only five corporate economic power. This table shows that these state's gross domestic product is lesser than some MNCs GDP's for example in 1996.²³

²² Dan. P. 56 (Here, we have a real problem because we don't know yet, the real definition of terrorism and whom we consider as a terrorist. In the long history the humans have been involved in serious conflicts and each side proclaimed that they were right, and charged the other side as a wrongdoer. So, at this time, we don't have any evidence, which tells us that Ossama bin Laden is a terrorist. But USA proclaims that. The future will provide us with concrete evidence to tell us whether the Ossama is terrorist, or not, may be Ossama is innocent but who will punish U.S.A for its wrong accusation. I think nobody will do that at least at the present time. "God be bless with the right one and punish the evil doers")

²³ Dan , p 59

State's GDP	US\$ billions	MNC's GDP	US\$ billions
Turkey	159.8	General Motor	168.8
S/Africa	123.3	Ford	137.1
Norway	109.6	Toyota	111.1
Malaysia	68.6	IBM	72.0
Egypt	43.9	Sony	47.6

This table shows us that the Turkey, S/Africa, Norway, Malaysia, and Egypt's GDP is lesser than that of General Motor, Ford, Toyota, IBM, and Sony's GDP. From this, now which actor is or more powerful, Malaysia with (GDP) 72.0 billions or General Motor with (GDP) 168.8 billions? At the present time, Malaysia was considered one of few developed countries in the third world, and many countries are willing to emulate the economic progress of Malaysia. Nevertheless, what are the impacts of the transnationalism and Interdependence on changes on the studies of the international Security analysis? Malaysian Primer Minister Dr. Mahathir in the recent years has analyzed this question and he is emphasizing (MNCs) and their ability to interfere in the internal affairs of states and later even pose a serious challenge to individual governments of states. For example MNCs had the capacity to challenge the developing countries' authorities: this message was conveyed in Malaysian Premier D. Mahathir Keynote Address at the International Islamic Conference held in Kuala Lumpur June 28, 2000. He warned to all participants to International Seminar on "The Impact of Globalization on the Islamic World" and he said:²⁴

²⁴ Dr. Mahathir Bin Mohamed, "The Issues and Challenges in the 21st Century", Kuala Lumpur, Technology Park Malaysia, 2001, p.5 (Presented at the International Seminar on the Impact of the Globalization on the Islamic World), held in K.L., 2000).

A globalised, borderless, deregulated world is what the advocates of globalization are pushing of. How would we know when we are invaded if we have no border? Invasion need not take the form of armies marching into our countries. We can be invaded by businessmen, by banks, by corporations, by ideas and values and moral codes, which are alien to us. The effect, it is the same as military invasion. In fact, it is worse than that. Every aspect of our lives will be invaded. Our minds will be invaded. Even our religion will be invaded

So, according to the Dr. Mahathir the transnationalist approach is not very suitable for developing or poor countries. We have seen Dr. Mahathir's explanation the MNCs threats are more dangerous than military attacks from the outside. For the realist the military force is the dominant instrument and security is the dominant goal. At this moment, also no longer the realist assumption that the in military force is dominant to achieve own national security. So, as we mentioned earlier, in reality, no picture of the world politics is complete if the complex pattern of interaction between transnational actors and governmental actors is ignored or treated as peripheral to the interactions of states and international organizations. However, the realist and transnationalist approaches are simple models or ideal types. The real world lies somewhere between the two. However, we can ask where certain countries relations fit on a spectrum between realism and transnationalism. So far, the developing states are closer to the realist approach but not all. On the other hand, the developed states are closer to the Transnationalist approach but again not all. For example, the relationship between the Arab and Israel is closer to realist approach, but the relationship between the United States and Canada or Germany and France is much closer to the transnationalist approach. In fact, countries can change their position from time to time. For example, in the Cold War the United States- Soviet relationship

was clearly the realist approach, but with Gorbachev's changes the U.S.-Soviet relationship moved closer to the center between realism and complex interdependence.²⁵ That means there is no absolute model for international security studies. Either realist or transnationalist both is just imaginations or perceptions, which belonged to those who imagined and no longer to be captive by them. Here, for example American scholars said: "An international system is what's out there in real world, whether we are able to perceive it correctly or not. A "model" is what we construct from data and our own imagination in the hope that it matches the real-world system."²⁶ In addition, looking back over a more than a century, scholars believe there have been at least three international systems. First, the Nineteenth-Century Balance of Power System, second the Inter-war System, and the third Bipolar Cold War system. And each operating with different numbers of major players and with a different logic. But the models constructed at that time to explicate these systems were never fully accurate".²⁷ At this point, we are going to forward into the third world security studies and which model or approach will be suitable to maintain their national security and what challenges they are facing.

1.3 Traditional Approaches and Third World Security Studies

As we discussed already both realist and transnationalist approaches are simple models or ideal types. However, it could be possible to ask this question, which approach whether realist or transnationalist is suitable for third world security implementation? So far, the developing states are closer to the realist

²⁵ Nye, p- 70

²⁶ Michael G. Roskin, Robert L. Cont, James A. Medicos, Walter S. Jones, *Political Science An Introduction*, (7th Ed), New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 2000, p.375

²⁷ *ibid.*, p-375

approach but not completely. On the other hand, the developed states are closer to the Transnationalist approach but not completely. Hence, we examine how the third world's security is implemented in the real world i.e. whether third world security implements through the realist or transnationalist approaches and what are the consequences. Therefore, we analyze first, the realist approach and its fitness to secure national security in the third world. In general, third world security approach is based on the realist concept of international relations. The realist approach however failed to identify and address the most pressing current security concerns of the poor states. This state-centric, geopolitical approach identifies physical threats coming from outside the territorial boundaries of the states, and sees the build-up of military power as the appropriate response to the perceived external challenge. However, it could be argued that the primary physical threats to the security of the overwhelming number of developing countries are internal, not external; the result from the granting of international legitimacy to states which lack domestic legitimacy. However, according to Caroline Thomas the great majority of these states share a fundamental security problem: while enjoying international legitimacy, they lack internal legitimacy. This resulted in a crisis for many third world states, which has profound implications for security domestically, regionally, and globally.¹⁶ However, the most conflicts within the third world are intrastate rather than interstate, despite popular belief to the contrary; internal challenges to political authority are a more frequent cause of military conflict in the third world than border dispute. Therefore, the realist approach were irrelevant to act or deal about the security studies in the third world because the realist approach were formulated to

respond the external threat or physical attack from outside. In the reality the third world security crisis is from inside not from outside. So, the realist approach is no longer capable to analysis the third world security problems. In addition, the concept of "realism" can be criticized on some grounds. First, while every realist theorist emphasizes on national interest, it's difficult to give an operational meaning to this concept. Second, the pursuit of limited national objectives, separation of foreign policy from domestic policies, conduct of secret diplomacies, use of balance of power, and pleas of nation's to place reduced emphasis (ideology as a conditions of international conduct,) have little relevance to the international system today.²⁹ The master key to the whole theory of political realism is contained in "national interest" defined in terms of power. Now the question arises: what is national interest? It is a matter of different interpretations at the hands of different statesmen in different situation or environment. How about the Transnationalist approach is there any hope that the realist can preserve the national interest and to enhance its' national security? On the other hand, today the developing states face the significant challenge from the transnational forces. Taking for example MNCs and their capacity to challenge the developing countries' authorities. Already we discussed what the Malaysian Premier Dr. Mahathir addressed in his keynote at the international Islamic conference held in Kuala Lumpur June 28,2000. He emphasized their ability (MNCs) to interfere in the states internal affairs first and to challenge it latter. Then, we cannot promote transnationalist approach as we have seen Dr. Mahathir's explanation of the MNCs threats are more dangerous than military

²⁸ Caroline Thomas, "New directions in thinking about security in the Third World", (edit) Kin Both, *Strategy and International Security*, London: Harper Collins Academic, 1991, P.268

²⁹ Johari, J.C. *International Relations and Politics (Theoretical Perspective)* (2nd Ed), New Delhi: Sterling Publishers Pvt Ltd, 1997, P.194

attacks from the outside. In general, today the developing countries face significant challenges from the both approaches. They couldn't apply either realist or transnationalist and they cannot reject them as well, they are in dilemma.³⁰

Nevertheless, at present the world political process will become increasingly complex, developed and developing together, and the web of interactions will affect the behavior of governments. On the other hand, these increases in transnational activity will not radically alter states in the near future, states still command monopoly of certain forms of law enforcement and the loyalty of millions of people. But, the major question maybe formulated like this: How the elite groups to enforce the law and keep the order when the elements form the community have the capacity to access dot.com and to challenge the elite group. As it is, we are entering new era of multiple crisis and insecurity world both unit level and system. However, the international security expert should re-think and re-define their approaches to face the new challenges and to find out new approaches, which are acceptable to analyze international and national security crisis. In this paper we raise this question: where the real world lies? Could we try to find out the new directions and thinking about the security in the third

³⁰ In this dilemma, the elite groups in the developing countries get confused which approach they will have to apply to promote their national progress and nation building. For example, if the elite group chooses the realist approach which emphasizes on more security enforcement and try to focus more on the their national security and law enforcement to keep the order and sustain their national territory integrity. The result will be a harsh condemnation from the international organization and developed countries asking them to stop the human right violations, if not they will loose foreign aid assistance. And on the other hand, if they applied the transnational approach they will loose control over their internal affairs and ruling group will become as a department of the MNCs as Malaysian Premier Dr. Mahathir emphasized earlier. Elite groups in the third world -either realist or transnationalist are facing a significant challenge from forces those "internal and external" who are working together.

world' The paper assumes the real world lies somewhere between the realist approach and transnationalist and paper proclaims to call this approach "cohesion or co-existence security approach".

1.4 New Guidelines in Thinking about Security in the Third World

Third world countries have not had sufficient time to consolidate their internal nation building process, especially social integration and cohesion process. They are, for the most part, politically, economically and militarily weak, and they become dependent on their former colonial powers. However, since the third world nations and states do not coincide in most of social integration, we cannot talk of national security as we do in the developed world. Indeed continual reference to the ideal of "national security" in the third world is usually without empirical foundation. The concept of national security lends an air of legitimacy to policies of repression and patterns of expenditures that serve an extremely narrow sectional interest in these states

In contrast, the first world, from their birth, beginning with the treaty of the Westphalia in 1648, Europe evolved into a multi-state system and the main feature of this system was safeguarding the integrity and sovereignty of the nation- state. And finally, at the end of the 19th century the nation-states of Europe were fully integrated. A similar process occurred in the United States and Canada. The result, with exceptions, internal threats to the national security of Europe and United States became minimal. Therefore, the most important concern of the European and North American nations became external threats involving international security. The successful nation-building process appears

strongly correlated with the emergency of participatory system, that is, with democratization resulted three central values: stability, liberty and efficiency. There seem to be two underlying conditions: a legitimate state and existence of social contract between the main poles of society. The legitimacy of the state, in turn, rests on three conditions: (a) the state's use of violence is limited, constrained and predictable. (b) the state contributes to the socio-economic well-being and security of citizen. (c) citizens have a considerable measure of control over the policy, its rules and how power is exercised. However, rule is by consent, not by divine right, bloodline or the gun. This leads to the second condition: a social contract concerning the distribution and execution of power, right and duties, check and balance between the key actors: state, market and civil society. The states are cohesive, capable and legitimate. There is democracy, good governance, transparency, accountability, and functioning market economies.³¹ In the most of the third world countries there is nothing by consent between the community and regimes, because there is no legitimate government in most of them. Nothing balances between the right and duties, or social contract between the community and the elite group. So, the result was unlimited violation and social upheaval and using the gun as a favor for the most third world countries' regimes. Thus, the framing of the third world and developed security framework will follow a different pattern. In the third world, the imperative of nation- state building will not be as strong as in the developed.

³¹ Thomas Ohlson, "Conflict and Conflict Resolution in a Southern African", (Ed.) Mandaza, Ibbo, *Peace and Security in Southern Africa*. Harare: Sapes Books, 1996, P.17

However, the third worlds security should be studied “as they are, not as they ought to be”.

Alternative Approach

In reality both approaches “realist and transnationalist” failed to identify and address the most pressing current security concerns of the poor states. Here, we are not talking about what happened to United States on 11 September 2001. Therefore, to realize, that reality of the third worlds’ criteria in the international relations and their weakness such as military and economic capacity they must have their own security framework at both levels that is the unit and the system. However, the consequence from that i.e. diversity between the two worlds we thought that maybe it is time to frame the third world security framework which could be suitable to their criteria. Herein, we are suggesting the “Cohesion Security Approach” as an initiative approach to analyze the third world security’s crisis. The approach basically assumes the possibility of four levels of analysis instead of only three, such as community, regime, regional, and international level all are interrelated into each other. The relationship between the community and their ruling group at the first level, the community and ruling group was considered this alternative approach as a cornerstone to the internal and international security. However, the approach will give them a special privilege. Secondly, the relationship between/among (the) states. Thirdly, the relationship between the communities, states and their regional organization, and its councils were considered very important level. Fourthly, the contact between/among all forces from international community through the regional organization, and regimes into communities. However, the main concern of this

approach is to analyze the security issues **as** a comprehensive matter. In this approach's perspective there is **no single state** that can survive alone, therefore, the developed nations if they **want to enjoy** peace and prosperity they must recognize the others survival. **That** means they must assist the developing countries or at least let them **manage** their **house**. In addition, the building of this approach is aimed to explain **and to prevent** the causes of insecurity in the Horn of Africa and to advocate a **possibilities regional** security framework in the future. But let us first analysis **and to trace back** the conflicts and current security situation in the Horn of Africa to **understand** on the roots and causes of the regional insecurity forces.